The People's Korea

No. 1,262 EVERY SATURDAY OCTOBER 12, 1985 Per Copy Price:¥250 (US$1.00) 1985年10月12日第1262号(每周六出刊)

Present Situation Demands Asian Unity: DPRK President

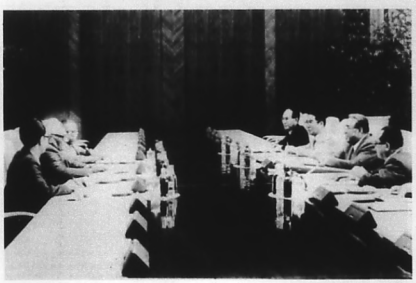
President Kim Il Sung stressed the necessity of firm unity among the Asian nations so as to build a new Asia, independent, free, peaceful and prosperous.

He said, "The present situation demands that the progressive people in Asia unite," and contined, "When the people of the East which has more than half of the world's population and a vast territory, abundant natural resources and economic potentialities, rise up and discharge their responsibility and play their role to the full as masters of history, they will be able to put an end to imperialist and colonialist domination and intervention and achieve national prosperity and social progress in this region."

These remarks were made at a welcoming banquet given in honour of the delegation of the Communist Party of India headed by C. Rajeswara Rao who visited the DPRK from September 27 to October 2.

In regards to the validity of Asian unity based on independence in the international camp, Mr. Kim stated, "War can be prevented and peace and security guaranteed if all the countries in Asia do not follow U.S. imperialism but maintain an independent position."

Four other points in his speech, or what he termed the demands of the prevaling situation were as follows: 1) to counter U.S. Asian strategy, 2) to frustrate its scheme to make Asians fight against each other by instigating their satellite countries, 3) to repulse its imperialist domination, subjugation and interventionist moves and 4) to defend the national independence and sovereignty, natural resources and territorial integrity of Asian countries.



President Kim Il Sung on September 28 received the delegation of the Communist Party of India headed by General Secretary C. Rejeswara Rao. (KCNA Radiophoto)

Touching upon his party's foreign policy, the DPRK President stated, "Our party pays particularly great attention to developing friendly and cooperative relations with the parties in Asian countries which are geographically close to our country."

Meanwhile, visiting Indian communist party leader C. Rajeswara Rao shared the same view on Asian unity, saying, "We believe that if all the peace-loving forces unite themselves and make positive efforts for peace and social progress, the heinous attempt of the U.S. imperialists and warmaniacs will be shattered."

Referring to the military threat to the Asian region by a Washington-Tokyo-Seoul axis, he pointed out, "The U.S. imperialists have turned south Korea into their military base, thus threatening the security of the DPRK and peace in this area and Asia."

The Indian communist party delegation visited the DPRK at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea (WPK).

During their six-day stay, talks on some problems of mutual concern took place between Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the WPK Central Committee and the Indian communist leader, which were supposed to promote the bilateral relations between the two parties.

The delegation from India left Pyongyang on October 2 after being honoured at a series of meetings.

New Cabinet Members Appointed

A joint meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Central People's Committee of the DPRK appointed Yon Hyong Muk as First Vice Premier of the Administration Council, An Sung Hak as Vice Premier and Chairman of the Light Industry Commission of the Administration Council, Kim Bok Sin as Vice Premier and Chairman of the Commission of Foreign Trade of the Administration Council and Paek Hak Rim as Minister of Public Security of the DPRK.

The October 1 joint meeting which was presided over by President Kim Il Sung relieved Choe Yong Rim and Kim Hwan of the posts of Vice Premier of the Administration Council for their transfer to other posts.

It also relieved Kong Jin Tae of the posts of Vice Premier and Chairman of the Commission of Foreign Trade of the Administration Council and appointed him as Chairman of the Commission of Public Welfare.

Kim Yong Sam Calls for Democratic Government In S. Korea

South Korean opposition leader Kim Yong Sam said in Tokyo that for the past 23 years the dictatorial regimes have used the so-called "threat from north Korea" as a means of suppressing the people.

"For the past 23 years – 18 years of Pak regime and 5 years of Chon Du Hwan– they have deceived the people, harping on the alleged "threat from north Korea". The so-called threat was used to prolong the dictatorial regimes. After all, nothing happened," stressed Mr. Kim Yong Sam.

Speaking at the luncheon given at the Foreign Correspondents' Club of Japan on October 3, Mr. Kim who shares the post of co-chairmen of the Council for Promotion of Democracy with Mr. Kim Dae Jung stated his view on democracy in south Korea and other related issues.

(See a summary of speech on page 5)

He said a possible transfer of power in 1988 with the present dictatorial system kept intact means nothing. What is important is to change the constitution, carry out democratic reforms and establish a democratic civilian government in south Korea, stressed Mr. Kim.

Mr. Kim Yong Sam arrived in Tokyo on Oct. 2 for a nine-day visit on his way home from a month-long stay in the United States.

During his stay in Japan, he met not only with Japan Socialist Party leaders but with members of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party and gave lectures at Keio and Waseda universities both of which are prestigious private institutions in Tokyo.

He claimed that the south Korean authorities do not provide opposition parties with any information on north-south relations.

"The south Korean dictators (Pak and Chon) have used the north-south dialogues as a means of prolonging their regimes. They did not allow us to participate in reunification talks which are the most important one. So, I said that I am ready to meet anybody for reunification," said Mr. Kim.

Commenting on the 1988 Oympic Games, he said the Olympic Games should be held after a democratic government is established in south Korea.

"Only when a democratic government is established in south Korea, democratic reforms, including freedom of the press, are guaranteed, will Olympic Games be held in a peaceful atmosphere with no student demonstrations," stressed Mr. Kim.

He warned that unless Chon regime changes its policies, the workers, farmers and students "may rise in anger" making it impossible for south Korea to sponsor the 1988 Games in a good atmosphere.

He said that he has no ambition of taking power and added that there is no discrepancy of opinions between Mr. Kim Dae Jung and that he will cooperate with Kim Dae Jung to promote democratization of their country.

Chon Relied on Repression To Stay in Power: LA Times

The Los Angeles Times reported, "For four years after seizing power in 1980, President Chun Doo Hwan relied on repression to stay in power."

The leading U.S. daily quoted a Western diplomat as saying "Chun lacks a strategic plan and has no political ability, so when things got heated up, the only thing left to fall back on was the hard-line approach."

Western journalists based in Tokyo said that the October 2 editions of International Herald Tribune which carried the story of the Los Angeles Times were not distributed in south Korea.

Here is the story which was not reported in south Korea:

More than 400 political prisoners are in custody, the police have returned to college campuses, and government agents are raiding bookstores and art galleries.

"A Western diplomat, who requested anonymity, said, 'Chun lacks a strategic plan and has no political ability, so when things got heated up, the only thing left to fall back on was the hard-line approach.'"

For four years after seizing power in 1980, President Chun Doo Hwan relied on repression to stay in power. Then, early last year, he began to tolerate a measure of dissent. Now, a new crackdown is under way.

A test of how far the confrontation between Mr. Chun and his critics might go will probably come in October, when more than 8,000 bankers, central bank presidents and finance ministers from around the world gather here for an International Monetary Fund conference. Mr. Chun's critics see the meeting as a chance to discredit him.

The chief targets of the new crackdown are the 2,000 to 3,000 activists among the nation's 950,000 college students. Also feeling the lash are teachers, artists, writers and workers.

Even Mr. Chun's supporters have not been spared. Mr. Chun dismissed Justice Minister Kim Suk Hui after disorder broke out in a courtroom where 20 students were on trial for taking part in the seizure here last May of the U.S. Information Service library.

Mr. Chun also dismissed Lee Hyun Jae, president of Seoul National University, after Mr. Lee, before the court

(Continued on page 8)

Proud Course of Struggle WPK Has Traversed

— On Occasion of 40th Birthday of WPK —

Meeting the 40th anniversary of founding of the Workers' Party of Korea, The People's Korea dedicates the following article on its history:

President Kim Il Sung delivering a report at the inaugural congress of the North Korean Workers' Party (On Aug. 29, 1946)

I) Glorious Party with Long History

The Workers' Party of Korea is a glorious party with a long history, a revolutionary party which hewed out a new road of advancement.

Having taken up the helm of the Korean revolution in the grimmest days of Japanese imperialist rule, President Kim Il Sung, with a view to exploring a new revolutionary road, conceived a plan to form a revolutionary vanguard organization which, under a correct programme, would wage the anti-Japanese national-liberation struggle relying on the masses and, in 1926, he formed the Down-with-Imperialism Union.

The formation of the DIU was a historic declaration on a fresh start of the Korean communist movement and the Korean revolution. And especially it became the commencement of the struggle to found a party of a new type, a revolutionary party of a Juche type.

The programme of the DIU became the basis of the party's programme, and the principle of *chajusong* advanced by this organization became the principle of the Party building and activity; and the communists of the new generation whom the DIU began to train, became the backbone in the establishment of the Party. This shows that the Party grew out of the very roots of the DIU.

As President Kim Il Sung formed the DIU and the YCLK (Youth Communist League of Korea) in the latter half of the 1920s and led the Korean revolution, the defects of the early communist movement were overcome, many communists of the new generation grew up and the founding of a revolutionary party in the country became the order of the day.

At the Kalun meeting held in 1930 he set forth the Juche-inspired line of the Korean revolution and expounded a unique way to found a revolutionary party.

The most important aspect of the policy of Party founding advanced at this meeting was to establish a party independently.

Another important aspect of the Party founding policy set forth at the Kalun meeting was to form grass-roots Party organizations first and found a Party by means of expanding and strengthening these organizations and make preparations for the Party founding in close combination with the anti-Japanese struggle.

In accordance with this policy put forward by the President, the work to set up Party organizations was conducted actively after the Kalun meeting.

In the early July of 1930 in Kalun he formed the first party organization with young communists of the new generation. This was the first Party organization guided by the Juche idea, a glorious party organization which was the origin of the Party.

Thanks to his dynamic guidance and activity a party organization was established in the area of Onsong with activists of revolutionary organizations at the beginning of October 1930, and within a short span of time numerous grass-roots party organizations appeared within the armed ranks and in East Manchuria on the Tuman River and in the area along the northern border.

A system of guidance of Party organizations from county party committees to Party cells in villages was completed in the first half of the 1930s. As for the Anti-Japanese People's Guerrilla Army (AJPGA), Party Committees were formed and active in the regiments, Party cells in the companies and Party sub-teams in platoons. They worked under a unitary leadership.

Particularly, when the AJPGA was reorganized into the Korean People's Revolutionary Army (KPRA) in March 1934, measures were taken to form the Party Committee of the KPRA to supervise and guide not only Party organizations at different levels within the units but local Party organizations as well. This provided an epoch-making opportunity to establish a unified system of guidance of Party organizations to grass-roots Party organizations. It can be said the then Party Committee of the KPRA played practically the same role as the Central Committee of the WPK.

On the basis of the successes achieved in the first half of the 1930s, President Kim Il Sung firmly set up a unified and well-regulated system of guidance for all party organizations in the second half, waging extensively and vigorously the building of the Party organizations on a nation-wide scale.

The Meeting of the Military and Political Cadres of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army held in Nanhutou in February 1936 marked a historical turning-point in accelerating it on a nation-wide scale.

He also conceived a plan to firmly guarantee Party leadership for the Korean revolution as a whole. This plan was admirably carried out.

The founding of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland

(Continued on page 3)

What is WPK?

The Workers' Party of Korea is a revolutionary party of Juche type founded on October 10, 1945 and guided by President Kim Il Sung.

The founding of the WPK is fully realized on the basis of its organizational and ideological preparations made by him in the period of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle.

The Party represents the interests of the Korean nation and people. It is composed of the advanced fighters among the Korean working people—workers, peasants and working intellectuals who struggle devotedly for the good of the working masses and for the victory of the socialist and communist cause.

It is an heir to the glorious revolutionary traditions established in the course of the heroic anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle organized and waged under the guidance of President Kim Il Sung, and it is guided solely by his immortal Juche idea in its activities.

The WPK is the general staff of politics which organizes and leads our revolutionary struggle and constructive work in a coordinated way and assumes full responsibility for the destiny of the entire Korean people.

The WPK has been strengthened and developed into an invincible party, tried and tested in the course of revolutionary struggle.

The WPK achieved the complete unity in thought and will and cohesion of its entire membership based on the Juche idea of the President.

The Sixth Congress of the WPK held in October 1980 reelected President Kim Il Sung, its founder and leader, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the WPK in accordance with the will and desire of all its membership.

The Party Congress also elected Mr. Kim Jong Il, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of its Central Committee, Secretary of its Central Committee and Member of the Military Commission of its Central Committee.

It leads the people's government and all mass organizations, closely unites the masses around the leader and ably organizes and mobilizes them to execute its lines and policies.

Today it has set it as its general task to establish more firmly the monolithic ideological system within it and equip its entire membership and the whole society with the Juche idea.

The WPK regards it as the supreme principle of its activities to continuously elevate the people's material and cultural living conditions.

On the principle of *chajusong* and proletarian internationalism it makes an effort to strengthen the unity of socialist countries and the international communist movement, promote friendly and cooperative relations with peoples of all the new-emerging nations, and support the anti-imperialist national-liberation movements of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the revolutionary struggle of the working class and people in capitalist countries. It fights against US-led imperialists and for peace and democracy as well as national independence and the common cause of socialism while striving to form a broad united front.

(Continued from page 2)

in May 1936 was an event of historic significance in firmly rallying all strata of people including workers and peasants around the President and in cementing the mass foundation of the Party. The ARF was an anti-Japanese national united front organization to which Party guidance was guaranteed.

With the founding and rapid expansion of the ARF fresh progress made in giving Party leadership for all sections of people.

After the country's liberation President Kim Il Sung, basing himself on the successes and experiences he had personally accumulated in Party building during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, lost no time in setting up Party organizations in different localities, and, on October 10, 1945, founded the Central Organizing Committee of the North Korean Communist Party.

2) Revolutionary Party Opened Out New Way of Its Development

Following liberation, the Party, as a ruling party, took a new course of development.

President Kim Il Sung gaining a deep insight into the prevailing situation and the inevitable demand of the Party's development, put forward the unique organizational line of building it as a mass party and inaugurated a unified party of the working masses by merging the Communist Party with another party of working people.

As the Communist Party grew strong organizationally and ideologically and the revolution progressed after liberation, the Party should be developed into a unified mass party which could rally the broad working masses as a political force and mobilize their strength. It was a matured task. The Party merged with another working people's party in time and accepted a large number of advanced elements of the peasantry and working intellectuals, together with those of the working class, so that it firmly ensured the unity of the working masses, had closer ties with the masses and pushed ahead with the revolution and construction with success by mobilizing many people of various strata.

An important task arising in building the Party as a mass party was to consolidate it qualitatively keeping pace with its rapid quantitative growth.

The Second Party Congress held in March 1948 decided its qualitative consolidation as a matter of cardinal importance in the building of a mass party, and advanced an overall task—strengthening Party cells, improving its ideological work and guaranteeing its organizational and ideological unity. Through the struggle to implement the Party's policy for its qualitative consolidation put forward at its second congress, its organizational and ideological work was improved, all the cells strengthened to be live militant units and the level of the rank and file and cadres heightened. In this way the Party ranks were consolidated qualitatively, its unity and cohesion increased and the militancy of its organizations and its leading role enhanced.

The 1950s was a period of historic significance in the development of the Party as the party of a Juche type.

Even in the grim wartime conditions President Kim Il Sung convened the third, fourth and fifth plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the Party and guided the Party to correct in time deviations and shortcomings in. Party building and Party work and strengthen it organizationally and ideologically. The Third Plenary Meeting overcame the loose practices revealed during the temporary retreat and established revolutionary discipline within the Party, and the Fourth Plenary Meeting eliminated the "leftist" deviation manifested in its organizational work and increased and consolidated its ranks. The Fifth Plenary Meeting in particular brought about a new change in strengthening the Party organizationally and ideologically by arousing all Party organizations and membership to the struggle to temper the Party spirit of its members, fortify its unity and solidarity in opposition to factionalism and establish Juche in its ideological work.

President Kim Il Sung called the Third Party Congress in April 1956, and set forth the very important task of opposing factionalism in the field of Party building, preserving its unity and solidarity and improving its organizational and ideological work. At the August 1956 Plenary Meeting he wisely led the struggle to expose and destroy the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary factionalists who came out against the Party.

The Party got on a new higher stage of development in the 1960s.

The establishment of the integral, advanced socialist system and the creation of the solid basis of an independent national economy as a result of the fulfilment of the task of laying the foundations of socialism, radically changed the socio-economic conditions for the Party activity. And the stubborn struggle against the anti-Party factionalist and their lingering ideological poison fulfilled the historical task of eradicating the factions which had done tremendous harm for many years and of achieving the unity of the Korean communist movement. This showed that the Party entered a new phase of development.

At that historic moment the Fourth Party Congress was held, President Kim Il Sung advanced the very important task of further strengthening the Party organizationally and ideologically and enhancing its leadership role. In particular, he stressed the need to oppose revisionism, factionalism, regionalism and nepotism and preserve the unity of the Party's idea and purpose so that all Party members and organizations would think and act as the Party Central Committee would, and their lot with it and struggle to the end in whatever difficult circumstances. Through the struggle to implement the task for Party building proposed by its Fourth Congress, the Party further consolidated its unity and solidarity, enhanced its leadership and made a remarkable progress in improving its work method and style, re-educating the masses and uniting them around it. In particular, the 15th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the Party held in May 1967 became an opportunity to effect a decisive change in establishing the Party's monolithic ideological system.

In the 1970s a new great change was made in the development of the Party.

The Sixth Party Congress held in November 1970 defined it as the general task of Party works to establish its monolithic ideological system throughout the Party and, on this basis, fortify the unity and solidarity of its ranks. The congress set forth the very important task of properly conducing work with people, which is fundamental to Party work.

Looking into the future of its development and the revolution the Party laid down the strategic policy for transforming the whole society on its line with the Juche idea and, as its precondition, strove to accelerate the modelling of the whole Party on the Juche idea.

The success achieved in Party building and its activities during this period became a solid asset which enabled the Party to struggle for higher objectives.

The Sixth Party Congress held early in the 1980s put forward a new magnificent programme for modelling the whole society on the Juche idea. It included the militant tasks of Party building: To further strengthen the ranks of the Party and the revolution with continued adherence to the principle of establishing the monolithic ideological system in the whole Party as the basic line of Party building, admirably carry forward and develop the revolutionary traditions and strengthen Party leadership to the revolution and construction. This shows that the Party has entered a new higher stage of development as a great party which is modelling the whole society on the Juche idea regarding it as its foremost task.

EDITORIAL

Korean People Who Advance under Guidance of WPK Are Ever-Victorious

October 10 is an auspicious day on which the glorious Workers' Party of Korea, ever-victorious party founded by President Kim Il Sung and led by Mr. Kim Jong Il, marked the 40th anniversary of its founding.

The WPK has travelled a proud path which led the revolution and construction to victory, braving storms in the grim days of the past. In the course of this struggle, it has been ceaselessly strengthened and developed into a revolutionary party with indestructible might.

Secretary Kim Jong Il said as follows:

"Our Party has traversed the glorious course of struggle for over half a century since it found roots in the formation of the Down-with-Imperialism Union (DIU); and on this road it has made great brilliant achievements of the century, and has grown and has been strengthened as a powerful revolutionary party united rock-firm and equipped with a wealth of experience."

The history of the WPK for over half a century started when President Kim Il Sung founded the DIU in 1926.

He formed it, with a far-reaching plan to form a party of a new type. Subsequently he formed the first party organization which was the origin of the WPK.

Thus, he expanded the Party organizations in the vast region at home and abroad and firmly guaranteed Party leadership for the Korean revolution as a whole.

Organizational and ideological foundations for the founding of the Party were laid through the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle over 20 long years and the glorious revolutionary traditions were established.

President Kim Il Sung, basing himself on the successes and experiences he had personally accumulated in Party building, completed the cause of founding the WPK on October 10, 1945. Indeed, this meant the emergence of a revolutionary party of a new type guided by the Juche idea and was a historic event to open up a new era in carving out a destiny for the nation.

Thanks to the formation of the WPK, the Korean people came to have a vanguard detachment to lead the revolution to victory and be able to accelerate the construction of new society with confidence.

It has victoriously accomplished the two stages of the social revolution and socialist construction, surmounting all difficulties and ordeals. Thus, it has created a new society on the soil of Korea and established a strong and prosperous socialist country of independence, self-sustenance and self-defence.

It also is greatly contributing toward solving burning questions in the world's political arena as a standard-bearer of the anti-imperialist, independent forces among the vanguard detachments of the international working class. Today the people of the world are firmly convinced of the victory of the WPK in its staunch struggle to expand and develop the anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. struggle and the non-aligned movement and to achieve the unity and cohesion of the international communist movement and are clearly see a bright future of the whole world based on independence.

The WPK today enters a new high stage of its development, creditably realizing the historic cause of further consolidating its organizational and ideological foundations.

The WPK is also developing more and more into a great revolutionary party because it has Secretary Kim Jong Il as an illustrious leader, who is perfectly equipped with the quality and features to the highest degree which a successor to the leader is required to embody.

A successor to the leader plays a decisive role in carrying through the revolutionary cause of the working class to the end from generation to generation and in strengthening the party and developing it into a party of the leader, in the same way as the leader plays a decisive role in the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the founding of the Party.

Therefore, the WPK named Mr. Kim Jong Il successor to the leader with the organizational will of the entire Party, reflecting the unanimous desire of the entire Korean people, and firmly established his unitary leading system.

Today it is due to the firm purpose of the center and the purity of its idea that the WPK has been developed into an invincible revolutionary Party exhibiting the highest unity and cohesion.

At present, there is no other idea within the WPK but one idea, the Juche idea. The unity and cohesion of the party is a clear and flawless ideological crystallization of the Juche idea.

The WPK is conducting the work of turning all members of the society into genuine Kimilsungists and is developing a gigantic forward movement to conquer the ten long-term objectives of socialist economic construction in the 1980s.

It is a powerful party seasoned in the storms of revolution and united steel-like. Therefore it enjoys the active support and hearty trust of the people and a high international prestige and dignity.

Meeting the 40th anniversary of the founding of the WPK, the Korean people will advance more vigorously for the reunification of the fatherland and completion of the revolutionary cause of Juche according to its leadership.

They also, upholding the foreign policy of the party, will powerfully wage anti-imperialist struggles and anti-war, anti-nuclear, peace movements, uniting with the advancing people all over the world including the fraternal socialist countries and the non-aligned countries.

The Korean people advancing under the leadership of the ever-victorious WPK are invincible.

Chon Junta Conducts Large-Scale Integrated War Game

— "Sure-victory Special Combat Exercise 85" —

The largest scale integrated military exercise of this sort codenamed "Sure-victory Special Combat Exercise 85" was staged by the south Korean forces in the area of a river and mountains near the central forward region of south Korea on September 27, according to a scenario based on the supposition of a "surprise attack" from the DPRK, a most improbable supposition in the situation where the north-south dialogue is proceeding on various levels to relieve tension on the Korean Peninsula.

Various warfare maneuvers were reportedly conducted by army rangers, south Korean and American air force aircraft and artillery for about two hours, as the war game was observed by some 4,500 people including Gen. Chon Du Hwan, foreign diplomatic corps members and U.S. commanding officers.

Participating in the combined and joint military game were hundreds of south Korean special units, who staged infiltration, bomb explosion, and other special operations in a river and in the mountains, under the cover of air force and army aircraft.

Among the aircraft thrown in the maneuver were F-16s, A-10s, F-4 Phantoms and F-5 fighters and tens of helicopters.

M-48 tanks, 155 mm artillery guns and multi-tub rocket were also used in the military game, south Korean papers reported on Sept. 28.

All the aircraft and guns hit the targets, supporting the rangers, who were conducting explosion activities directed against simulated enemy strongholds, an electric power plants, a radar base, bridges, commanding posts, oil tanks and guided missiles sites, the reports said.

What can not be overlooked is the fact that the "special combat forces parachuted to infiltrate from the sky into a simulated commanding place where north Korea's national flag was set up and the letters 'Juch idea' written on it." (Sankei Shimbun dated Sept.28)

Enforcement of the largest scale war game with a simulated attack on the DPRK runs counter to the demand of the Korean people and the world's peace-loving people, particularly in light of the present situation in which north-south dialogue is successfully carried out for peace and reunification, including N-S economic talks (Sept. 18), mutual visit of N-S Red Cross art troupes and home-town visiting groups (Sept. 20-23), the second preliminary contact for interparliamentary talks (Sept. 25).

Earlier, on September 19, a "training for defending harbours" and a "training to cope with a real war" were staged with a naval unit and civilian boats in a harbour mobilized, and a "mobile exercise" was conducted on Sept. 5 at a base in the central forward region with the mobilization of infantry, artillery, armoured, chemical and special units of the south Korean army, south Korean radio reported.

On August 22, the very day north-south Red Cross delegates met for family reunion, the south Koreans conducted the real-war-like "Ulji 85" exercise in downtown Seoul.

In this exercise, a south Korean unit disguised as "north Korean commandoes" aboard a helicopter landed on the central part of a downtown street in Seoul and exchanged simulated firings with other military units in broad daylight, creating terror-ridden atmosphere among Seoul citizens.

A series of the military exercises have been harshly accused by the DPRK of the one to pour cold water on the mounting atmosphere of the national reunion and on feelings of kinship created by north-south dialogue and the latest mutual visits of Red Cross art troupes and separated family members.

Rodong Sinmun, the organ of the CC of the Workers' Party of Korea, denounced the war game, saying "The military exercise draws attention of people as it was staged only two days after" south Korea "turned down our proposal for discussing and solving the problem of easing tensions at the second preliminary contact for the arrangement of north-south parliamentary talks at Panmunjom."

"Confrontation and war racket do not accord with the atmosphere of dialogue and peaceful reunification," the organ further said.

Special operational paratroopers jump out of a helicopter above a river as soldiers in tanks and rubber boats in ready positions during an integrated, large-scale military exercise codenamed "Sure-victory Special Combat Exercise 85" by the south Korean army special forces in the central forward region on September 27. (Korea Times Photo)

Chief of Unification Question Institute Put on House Arrest

Paek Ki Wan, Director of the Institute of Unification Question, was put under house arrest in Unpyong District, Seoul, according to south Korean papers.

Paek reportedly gave a lecture on the subject "National Idea and Task in South Korea" that day at Kwangun Institute of Technology in Seoul.

His lecture was prevented on the midway lest it should influence students among whom anti-"government" sentiments are mounting.

Lawyers Protest against Illegal Step of "Justice Minister"

South Korean lawyers presented a lawsuit paper to the Seoul High Court in protest against the authorities' step of suspending the lawyer's business for Pak Chan Jong, a lawmaker from the New Korea Democratic Party, on Sept. 27.

Lawyers in their lawsuit paper pointed out that the order on suspending the Pak's lawyer business is totally illegal and called for an immediate withdrawal of the suspension order.

Pak was in charge of pleading for students involved in the occupation of the U.S. Information Service building in Seoul.

The south Korean authorities issued the suspension order to Pak on charges of supporting the student's "violent" action.

Biggest Anti-"Government" Demonstration since Kwangju Uprising

The biggest anti-"government" demonstration was staged when more than 10,000 students from Korea and Yonsei universities marched on southern Seoul streets on September 27, chanting anti-"government" slogans such as "Down with dictatorship!" and "Withdraw the 'campus stabilization law'!".

The Korea Times reported, "It was the largest student demonstration outside the campus since the May, 1980 (Kwangju Uprising) demonstration."

It was also the first anti-"government" on-street demonstration in the second semester.

It was the day of sports exchange including soccer, basketball and baseball between the two universities. After baseball games between the two were over at the Chamsil Stadium, Seoul, over 10,000 student spectators trooped out and began the 3-kilometer street demonstration from the stadium to the Yongdong Bridge at about 6 p.m., holding placards reading "Down with the dictatorship which has destroyed the farm economy" and so on.

Riot police intervened, firing tear gas at the demonstrators. Some 1,500 students threw stones and flame bottles at them.

An estimated 1,000 students staged a sit-in rally in front of Kyonggi High School in Sameong-dong from about 6:30 p.m., The Korea Times reported.

Police arrested a total of 223 students that day; the Chungang Ilbo reported on September 28.

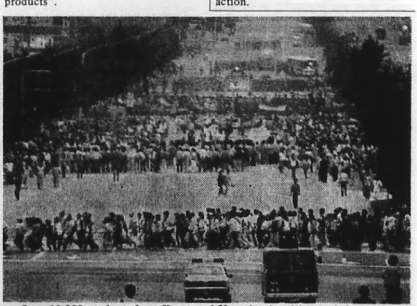
Meanwhile, a large number of students of 18 universities and figures of various circles in south Korea, waged an anti-"government" struggle on September 25 and 26, according to south Korean newspapers.

More than 1,800 students of 14 universities of south Korea including Seoul National, Yonsei, Korea, Hanyang, Sukmyong Women's universities and Seoul Women's and Hansong colleges on September 25 held anti-"government" demonstrations chanting the slogans "Withdraw the campus stabilization law", "Let us win democratic reforms", "Release detained students" and so on.

On September 26, many students including over 1,000 students of Tonggguk University in Seoul waged a demonstration, shouting the slogans "Recognize the rules of the student councils" and "Enforce democratic constitutional revision."

About 80 figures including professors and men of culture held "The 7th Evening of National Literature" in Seoul on September 26 and gave lectures on "Validity of Popular Education", "Suppression of Democratic Press and Reality of the Nation," etc.

On September 25, more than 40 members of the Christian Farmers Association scattered about 1,000 copies of printed materials to Seoul citizens and shouted slogans demanding the south Korean authorities "the payment of compensation for cows of farm houses and halt to introduction of foreign agricultural and live-stock products".



Over 10,000 students from Korea and Yonsei universities carried out a street demonstration on September 27, chanting anti-"government" slogans after the annual sports exchange between the two at the Chamsil Stadium in Seoul.

People May Rise in Anger Unless Chon Changes Policies: Kim Yong Sam

South Korean opposition leader Kim Yong Sam on October 3 said at a news conference in Tokyo, Japan, that unless Chon Du Hwan 'regime' changed its policies toward democracy, the workers, farmers and students "may rise in anger."

Mr. Kim arrived in Tokyo on October 2 for a nine-day visit after a month-long tour of the United States during which he had talks with government and congressional leaders.

Calling Chon a dictator, Mr. Kim said that the south Korean dissidents would strive to revise the existing "constitution" before 1988 in order to further push forward democracy in south Korea. Under the "constitution", Chon Du Hwan is obligated to step down that year.

But Kim stressed that his retirement would mean nothing more than a mere transfer of power within the dictatorial regime.

Expressing a sharp criticism of the present regime in south Korea, Mr. Kim gave an address and replied to questions at a conference of Foreign Correspondence Club in Japan of downtown Tokyo.

Here are excerpts from the address and replies.

South Korean opposition leader Kim Yong Sam (center) on October 3 replies to questions at a news conference in Tokyo, Japan. (The People's Korea photo)

Democracy in S. Korea and Peace On Korean Peninsula

An Address by Kim Yong Sam

What is painful about the division of Korea is that a people who have preserved their homogeneity and national identity for nearly 1,500 years have suffered a destruction and loss of a national community. The homogeneity of the people ought to transcend the differences in political systems and ideologies, but one wonders whether at the present time the political systems and ideologies have transcended the national homogeneity.

It is not only the territory of Korea that is divided. The prolonged rule by Park June-hee, the formation of a privileged class, the intensified polarization of the rich and poor due to the unfair distribution of wealth induced by government-directed economic development—all these factors have caused a division of the people. The conflicts and disharmony between the powerful and powerless and between the wealthy and the poor have increased. Let me give some examples. The military dictatorial regime has a total control of television and radio networks; it is using newspapers, magazines and other means of mass media to promote government policies; it has mobilized government officials and neighborhood organizations to the task of distorting and exaggerating their own records. In contrast, the anti-regime forces can make their views known only by means of handwritten or typewritten materials or a small quantity of duplicated materials. It is only in these ways that the facts about my fasting were made known to the Korean people.

Since there is the danger of an excessive imbalance between the different social classes and between the privileged and the underprivileged, religious organizations have started a compaign to "live together as decent human beings" and college students are engaged in a movement to identify themselves with workers and farmers. At the same time, movements are underway to revive and modernize the Taedong game, a traditional group game, and other ethnic entertainments and to promote literary activities that affirm the homogeneity of the Korean people. Although the immediate purpose of these campaigns is democratization, they also reaffirm the unity and homogeneity of the Korean people and as such they constitute an important component of the movement for national unification. Moreover, they represent the determination of the Korean people to end the division of the country. I sincerely hope that you will understand clearly the nature, prospects, and directions of the movement for democratization in Korea.

I would like you also to take note of the fact that we are engaged in the movement for democratization and national unification strictly in non-violent and peaceful ways. Since oppression, national division, special privileges and discrimination invite dehumanization of all people, the Korean people have resolved themselves to eliminate them. We do not want to engage in recrimination on retaliation against the oppressors. However, the oppression of the people has been intensified. I am deeply concerned about the possibility that the people who are the targets of the ever-increasing oppression will rise up in anger. I am worried about the possibility of bloodshed which may result from such an eruption of anger. I hope that the present regime, lacking legitimacy, will not become so desperate as to be suicidal. The expression used by the supporters of the regime that "we will perish if we make concessions" proves the point. Nevertheless, the avenue of democratization through a dialogue with the present regime will remain open as long as the principle of justice is honored. I pray that the present regime will not commit an unfortunate act even what it is faced with an extremely difficult situation.

I consider myself to be a once-dead man now miraculously revived. Therefore, I do not harbor any selfish interest. I am determined to face any difficulty and to play any role in order to prevent a bloodshed and to carry our democratization in Korea. My determination to work for the national unification is equally resolute.

I have embarked on my journey to the United States as a humble seeker of peace not only for my fatherland but also for the whole world, so that we can build a world free from war and oppression. During my present trip I have sought opportunities to reaffirm with American officials in both the Administration and Congress our common faith that the kind of freedom and democracy enjoyed by the American people can also be enjoyed by the Korean people. Similarly, I hope I can reaffirm here with Japanese leaders our common faith in the realization of freedom and democracy in Korea.

I would like also to express the earnest desire of the Korean people that the relationships between Korea and the United States and between Korea and Japan should be mutually beneficial and not advantageous only to one side. I recognize the fact that a regime which is deficient in legitimacy and morality is likely to sustain inequality and short-sightedness in its relations with other nations. However, I cannot consider it a genuinely friendly relationship if the faults of the present government of the Republic of Korea are exploited against the interest of the Korean people. I welcome friendly relations with neighboring nations, but I am opposed to a policy of dependency. I and the Korean people seek a genuine friendship, but not a friendship which is dictated solely by narrow self-interest.

The people of Korea will continue to strive to become the kind of people who, filled with national dignity and pride, can stand before the world in good conscience. With deep faith in themselves and through their own efforts. I am sure, the Korean people will ultimately realize democracy. I should like to end my talk by emphasizing that the realization of freedom, justice and human rights is the common ideal of all mankind and also by pleading with you to continue to observe the struggle for democracy in Korea with a deep interest as you have done so effectively in these years.

Excerpts from the Interview

On Chon's retirement in 1988

Even if Chon resigns in 1988, it would not be welcomed by the people unless the system and the "constitution" are revised. If he transfers his power with the dictatorial and suppressive system remaining intact, this will mean a mere transfer of the dictator's name such as "Li" Du Hwan or "Pak" Du Hwan.

On the "Threat" from the north

Chon Du Hwan, together with his predecessor Pak Jung Hi, is deceiving the people over 23 years by harping on the north's "danger".

They always have been telling the people lies in the name of national security, though there have been no war or such a conflict for a long time.

For example, in spring, they say, "we will have a serious danger in comming summer'. When summer comes, "we will have a danger in winter."

In this way, they have been suppressing the people, harping on the north's "danger", depriving the people of their freedom and committing stupid crimes.

On the N-S dialogues

Chon Du Hwan, dictator, is using N-S dialogues as a means of perpetuating the dictatorship, and prolonging its power in south Korea.

He never releases any information on the north to opposition party members.

The most important problem in Korea is its reunification. Therefore, I am willing to meet anybody for reunification.

On the cooperation and relationships with Kim Dae Jung

Mr. Kim Dae Jung and myself agreed to cooperate with each other for the sake of the democratization of south Korea and I think that this is the only way to help in the achievement of democracy.

I think this is my duty to our people in our era. Therefore, my real intention is to continue my efforts for democracy even after democratization is achieved in south Korea.

I will not hesitate to sacrifice myself and have no regard for my private interest for the sake of this cause.

Rev. Moon Ik Hwan Arrested

The south Korean authorities on September 27 took to the police Rev. Moon Ik Hwan, Chairman of the Alliance of People's Movement for Democracy and Reunification, on his way to Sung Kyun Kwan University to attend a lecture scheduled there.

On the same day, they illegally ransacked the office of the alliance in the Central District, Seoul, and confiscated more than 140 copies of the voice of the people No. 10, its organ, according to a south Korean newspaper report.

Earlier, on September 26, they walked to the police Li Bu Yong, welfare chief commissioner of the alliance, who was intending to attend "An Evening of National Literature" sponsored by the Literary Men's Council for Practice of Freedom at a church in the West Gate District, Seoul.

Energetic and Vivid People in the DPRK

— Photos Taken by Japanese Photographer —

A famous Japanese photographer, Ishikawa Bunyo, again visited the DPRK in spring this year following his visit there last year.

At the time of last year's visit, he expressed his impression of the DPRK, saying that people were masters of everything and every one was deeply taken care of by the government like a treasure.

During his stay there this time, he took photos of people who were making preparations to celebrate the 40th anniversary of Korea's liberation and the Workers' Party of Korea.

"I was surprised to find that Pyongyangites began to react to cameras so naturally. In other words, they didn't consciously pose for photos any more.

"This well shows that it was no longer rarely for them to see foreigners on the street as a result of increased international exchange there," he said.

Introduced here are some of the photos taken by Ishikawa Bunyo during his visit there.

Profile of Ishikawa Bunyo

- *Born in 1938, Okinawa, Japan*
- *Actively covered south east Asian countries, including Thailand, Laos and Cambodia, focussing on Vietnam, from 1964 to around the middle of the 1970's.*
- *Wrote a lot of excellent reporting. His representative work "A Photo Record of the Vietnam War" which denounced American war crimes, is highly appreciated at home and abroad.*
- *Worked as a photo journalist as a member of photographers working for Asahi Shimbun and later became a freelance photographer.*
- *After his first visit to the DPRK in 1984 while he was working for Asahi Shimbun, he visited the DPRK again this spring, and took photos of the daily life of Pyongyangites.*

▲ "Grandam, what makes you happy?"

◀ A family spending a happy time at restaurant.

▲ *"What is so interesting?"* Girls are always happy with their classmates.

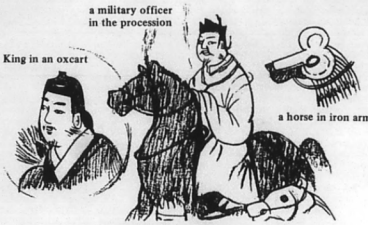
◀ *"Music Lesson"* At Pyongyang Students and Children's Palace

▶ *"Young Couple" at Potong River* Some stroll alongside the river, and others row boat. People enjoy their holidays in their own way.

Sketches from the Koguryo Mural Paintings

By Kim Han Mun

2. Dogs Vividly Drawn in the Picture



"King and His Procession" from Anak Tumulus No. 3

(Continued from the previous issue)

2. "The King and His Procession" (from Anak Tumulus No. 3)

On the wall of the corridor from the eastern frontal room to the north of Anak Tumulus No. 3, there is a picture of a king and his procession of more than 250 military and civilian officers, over a length of about 10 meters. It is the biggest among the mural paintings of Koguryo.

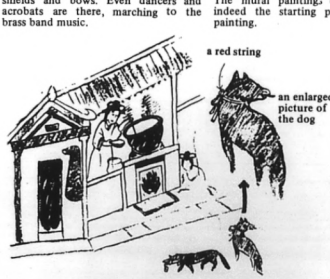
This displays of the King's dignity. The picture of the King in a smart oxcart stands out, he is painted much larger than the other figures. He is surrounded by a group of officers on horseback and around them are armed horsemen and infantrymen with spears, shields and bows. Even dancers and acrobats are there, marching to the brass band music.

I drew the pictures of the King looking quite satisfied and an officer on horseback. With a fan perhaps of feathers, the King looked dignified. On the contrary, the chamberlain looked like an honest man.

Compared to the other mural paintings, this one excels in composition and is much richer in colour. Especially, the painters were good at sketching in Indian ink, skilfully characterizing the figures and delineating their expressions.

Nothing like that mural painting with these characteristics in the middle of the 4th century can be found in any other paintings.

In my opinion, there must have been a lot of excellent painters in Koguryo who were as skilful as these painters. The mural painting of Koguryo are indeed the starting point of Korean painting.



"Picture of a Kitchen" from Anak Tumulus No. 3

3) "The Picture of a Kitchen" (from Anak Tumulus No. 3)

On the walls of eastern room which is opposite to the western room with brilliant pictures of the man in whom Anak Tumulus No. 3 is dedicated, there are simple pictures of maids showing them at work.

They are women drawing water from a wall with a bucket, doing washing, griding wheat with a millstone. Also there are pictures of a meat-storage room, a cowshed, a horseshed and a barn.

They show how the master and his servants lived. In "the picture of a kitchen," maids are busy getting dinner ready.

The picture was painted so vividly that in any moment, maids are putting fire wood in the stove and are ladling out something from a large jar into a pagaji (Korean countainer made of gourd.)

In the yard before the kitchen, two dogs, attracted there by the smell of food, show an animated atmosphere at dinnertime. They may be kept dogs of the house as they have a red strings around their necks.

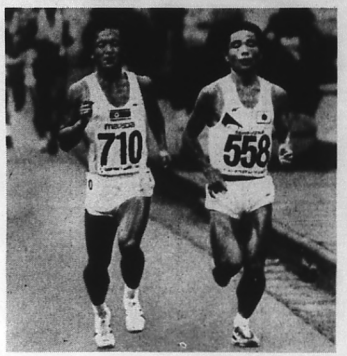
The sketch is good one even by today's standard.

The dogs in it give the sketch not only historical value but also artistic value.

This picture also shows the painters of those days trying very hard to find realistic expressions.

(To be continued)

DPRK Wins Three Gold Medals In Asian Track Meet



Li Jong Hyong (No. 710) of Korea is pulling away from Sueyoshi Tomio of Japan and surging past him at the 22-kiolometer point in the men's marathon on Sep. 29 during the 6th Asian Track and Field Championships held in Jakarta. He won a gold medal with a time of 2 hours 20 minutes 29 seconds, with Choe Il Sop winning a silver in 2:24:52.

Paek To Jong and Kim Ryon Sun got gold medals in women's 10,000-meter and 3,000-meter each.

In the women's section of the marathon, Li Sun Bok of Korea took a bronze in 2:57:27.

DPRK ranked fourth in the number of medals acquired, including three gold medals and two bronze medals.

Sports and Culture

Int'l Parachuting Contests of Socialist Countries Close

PYONGYANG September 28 (KCNA) – The International Parachuting Contests of socialist countries which opened in Pyongyang on September 16 closed on September 27.

The placing of the contests was made public at the closing ceremony.

800 metre individual jumping to accurate landing points
Men
1. Krasimir Ilev (Bulgaria)
2. Ivan Ptichkov (Bulgaria)
2. Vladimir Kolesnik (USSR)
Women
1. Jana Kocarkova (Czechoslavakia)
2. Harzbecker Barbara (GDR)
3. Yu (Mei (China)

2,000 metre individual figure dropping
Men
1. Lastta Jens-Uwe (GDR)
2. Eilenstein Ronald (GDR)
3. Nikolai Ushmaev (USSR)
Women
1. Harzbecker Barbara (GDR)
2. Glaw Heike (GDR)
3. Kveta Lnenickova (Czechoslovakia)

Individuals Total
Men
1. Nikolai Ushmaev (USSR)
2. Byacheslav Valyunas (USSR)
3. Vladimir Kolesnik (USSR)
Women
1. Harzbecker Barbara (GDR)
2. Galina Rakovich (USSR)
3. Xiong Min (China)

1,000 metre quartet group jumping
Men
1. USSR
2. Czechoslovakia
3. China
Women
1. GDR
2. USSR
3. Czechoslovakia

Total (countries)
Men
1. USSR
2. China
3. GDR
Women
1. GDR
2. USSR
3. Czechoslovakia

Korean Boxers Successful At Int'l Tournament

PYONGYANG October 1 (KCNA) – Korean boys collected five gold medals at the International Boxing Tournament that ended in Ostrava, Czechoslovakia, on September 29, according to a report.

Paek Yong Nam won the top honor in the 48 kg category, Chon Gwang Ho in the 51 kg category, Kim Ji Hyon in the 54 kg category, Li Dong Won in the 57 kg category and Kang Min Ho in the 67 kg category.

Ballet Troupe of GDR Dresden State Opera Theatre Arrives

PYONGYANG September 28 (KCNA) – The Ballet Troupe of the Dresden State Opera Theatre of the German Democratic Republic headed by Echart Kroplin arrived in Pyongyang on September 27 by air.

The Ministry of Culture and Art arranged a reception in the evening for the ballet troupe at the Okryu Restaurant.

Kim Il Jin Placed Second at Finals of 8th Int'l Karajan Contest

PYONGYANG September 28 Kim Il Jin, conductor of the Mansudae Art Troupe of the DPRK, placed second at the finals of the 8th International Karajan Contest of Conductors which was held in West Berlin from September 21 to 26 to win a silver medal.

Kim Il Jin came second without first by presenting in philosophical profundity with high enthusiasm the Juche-oriented method of orchestral conducting of Chaikovsky's Symphony No. 6 "Pathetic" on the basis of correctly understanding its ideological and thematic content.

"Quarterly Country Risk Survey: Republic of Korea" (1)

Here are excerpts from the report published by Political Economic Risk Consultancy Ltd. in mid-September. The report called "Quarterly Country Risk Survey: Republic of Korea" covers the period from July to September.

General

The Korean economy at the beginning of August is in a precarious, but not necessarily desperate state. The Government recognized that the economy was in trouble in April, and relaxed its monetary guidelines in a tacit way so that in the last three months, the M2 money supply measure rose from 9.5% to 12.9%. This earlier than predicted action has apparently staved off the worst consequences of the current situation.

The DPM and President continue to talk of normality. If they admit that a crisis exists, the Government is still bankrupt of ideas on what to do next. We are concerned that the next phase in the cycle of the Korean economy will continue a downward trend, with very little that the Government can do to help in the short term.

Socio-Political Risks

The opposition has been better led and more articulate than expected, but the Government took this opposition in a broad minded way, until the National Assembly went into recess. Students and labor movements have been much more strident. On the other hand, North-South talks are making progress. Since the Assembly went into recess, the political temperature has been rising. The DJP and Government have decided to take a much tougher line on students, labour unrest and Kim Dae-jung's short term risk. We also continue to signal a general increase in risk related to a possible change in Government by 1988.

Domestic Economic Risk

Analysis of the economic performance of the past six months shows that business confidence has been important in maintaining a high level of economic activity. We now find that confidence flagging and this has raised the risk index.

External Economic Risk

Exports continue to do very poorly. We expected a devaluation debate but general slippage of the won seems to be accepted as a policy. We now expect the won to be more stable in the next six months than before. We expected exports to be doing slightly better than they are but foreign lending is holding up.

WHAT TO WATCH FOR

1. Cabinet reshuffle in period under review. Anticipated reshuffle of economic ministers now overdue, but may be postponed until after the IMF/World Bank meeting in Seoul in October.

2. A power struggle between DJP and Blue House advisors for control of policy. Government ministers caught in the crossfire.

3. Economic policy shifts in the direction of hostility to U.S. pressure for liberalization, a backlash against the economic liberalizers or panic reflation measures are possible, but again likely to be postponed until late October.

4. A high level of North-South activity. We expect agreement to ship coal from North to South on a barter basis before the year end, possibly with rail relink but still many problems.

5. Rising interest rates on loans to Korea seem likely as foreign banks begin to get nervous about the size of Korea's debt, though Korea is still getting better terms than in past years.

6. We predict a slowing in the fall of exchange rate during the next six months.

I. SOCIO-POLITICAL PROGNOSIS

Ia. Factors Reflecting Stability of Government and Its Institutions

In our last survey we rated the emergence of the strong opposition party a major increase in risk, and the assumption of post of head of DJP by Roh Tae-woo a stabilizing factor. These judgements held until mid-June. In mid-June, when the regular National Assembly sessions finished, with a clearly flagging economy, the Government decided to clamp down on radical students and laborers. This was a deliberate, "get tough" policy formulated at a general meeting of Government and DJP.

In order to maintain this tough line, the Government and DJP have removed more moderate members from key positions. These include the Justice Minister, the President of Seoul National University, the General Secretary and Floor Leader of the DJP. There has been some uncertainty about the degree of harmony within the government ranks. Moderate DJP members and reportedly the Prime Minister are dissatisfied with this tough line.

Since the February election, Mr. Chun has kept a relatively low profile, and the DJP and Roh Tae-woo have made most of the running. It now appears that Blue House advisers are taking the lead in formulating policy, along with certain government ministers and pressure from influential military groups. Where this leaves Roh is unclear. Recent pronouncements suggest he fully embraces the 'get tough' policy, though there were hints in July of a gap between Roh and the Blue House. We expect the Government to continue to firm up its position, and this may include further replacements of key personnel.

The Government has upped the stakes for confrontation with the opposition apparently partly based on the fact that the U.S. Embassy declined to have talks with students occupying the USIS at the end of May, after they left the building. The trial of these students is now being conducted in a manner more reminiscent of the bad days of the 1970s, than the concern for consistent civil rights of recent years.

So far the Government has been remarkably effective in stamping out radical opposition, a fact attributed by some to the leadership of the Prime Minister (former Director of NSP – the successor to KCIA). By all accounts, the PM has emerged as a much more important figure in policy making, and must now be seen as an outside candidate for the Presidency.

However, it now appears that the Minister for Culture and Information and Blue House advisers are spearheading the attack on students. Hardly a day goes by without some insignificant group being arraigned for using terminology which the Government claims supports North Korea. It would, however, appear that the Ministry of Culture and Information is capable of exciting unnecessary fear in ruling circles in such actions as the seizure of books and more recently the seizure of paintings.

We have raised the risk posed by the opposition for two reasons. One is the coordination of opposition and students, the other is the uneasy tension within the DJP which suggests that Roh's hold on the party is not complete, and that the continued strong opposition in fact poses a threat for Roh's continued leadership of the DJP.

There are those who are drawing a parallel between events of 1979 (economic slowdown, increased labor unrest and confrontation between opposition and government leading to a fatal split in the government party) and the present situation. There are others like Lee Min-woo, leader of the NDP, who are comparing the current clampdown on a wide range of civil liberties as more like May 1980. On either count, political risk is rising and we predict a tough fall semester.

The opposition has avoided its normal problem of excessive factionalism, because neither major faction leader, Kim Young-sam and Kim Dae-jung are members of the Assembly or indeed formally of the NDP. Learning the lesson of 1980 when squabbling amongst the opposition over primacy prevented a united front to those who made the coup of 12 December 1979, which might have prevented them from consolidating their power. As a result, the two leaders have allowed the distinguished Lee Min-woo to lead the NDP with dignity and skill while continuing to move in the background.

Kim Dae-jung is still banned from political activity and under suspended prison sentence. In the last few weeks it has been hinted that Kim's sentence could be reactivated. The NDP is now determined to obtain the amnesty for Kim Dae-jung and unilaterally called an Assembly to tackle the issue. As noted above, the Assembly session failed to achieve anything. We now regard it as extremely unlikely that Kim's status will be resolved this year.

The leader of the NDP, Lee Min-woo, is awarded high marks on all counts for his performance. A Kim Young-sam man, Lee has made a distinguished mark. Kim Young-sam has a fairly good control of the party machine, although Kim Dae-jung remains the charismatic leader. It seems extremely probable that Kim Dae-jung will be the next opposition presidential candidate and the object of the Government must be to keep him out of political bounds until after the Presidential election, even if this means calling an early election.

(To be continued)

(Continued from page 1)

reached a verdict, refused to expel the eight students from his university who took part in the seizure.

Lee Jong Chan was replaced as floor leader of Mr. Chun's Democratic Justice Party in the National Assembly for arguing against a proposal to send students to reeducation camps for up to six months.

Foreign analysts are not sure why Mr. Chun has changed tactics again.

A Western diplomat, who requested anonymity, said, "Chun lacks a strategic plan and has no political ability, so when things got heated up, the only thing left to fall back on was the hardline approach."

A Korean critic said: "If you play one card and don't win, you play another card. This government is now facing a limitation on the number of cards it has left."

A year ago, after Mr. Chun had eased restrictions, human rights advocates said that there were only 91 dissenters in prison, the lowest number since 1972. Recently, as the prisons have been filled with political prisoners, repression has returned to the level of 1980.

The crackdown has given the students a rallying point – demanding the release of their colleagues. Observers think it also has increased the chance of more violence.

Mr. Chun's hard-line approach was underscored Sept. 19 when two opposition members of the National Assembly, Park Chan Jong and Chough Soon Hyung, were charged with violating a law that bans unauthorized assemblies. Mr. Park was also charged with inciting an illegal demonstration; he could be sent to prison for up to 10 years and six months.

Five executives of the Council for Promotion of Democracy also were indicted on charges of taking part in unauthorized assembly, which can be punished by up to seven years in prison.

The charges against all seven men stem from an effort Sept. 6 to attend a peaceful but unauthorized meeting of students at Korea University.

The turning point in Mr. Chun's policy came with the seizure of the U.S. library by 72 students. They demanded that the United States apologize for allegedly authorizing Mr. Chun's use of South Korean troops in May 1980 to put down an insurrection in Kwangju.

An American general, as commander of UN forces in Korea, is technically in charge of South Korea's troops. The command was set up during the Korean War of 1950-53.

The student finally agreed to leave the library after three days, without receiving a U.S. apology, and the government released all but 20. Nineteen were charged with interfering with officials and with violent behavior, the other student also was charged with violating the national security law by seeking to overthrow the government. The court is scheduled to issue its verdict Wednesday (Oct. 2).

Then, in June and July, the government arrested 137 students, the first mass arrests since 1980. It also instructed the courts to resume stiff jail sentences after a year and a half of relative leniency.

Two judges who persisted in showing leniency were reassigned to minor rural courts. A third who criticized the reassignments met the same fate.

The Democratic Justice Party announced plans in August to convene a special session of the National Assembly to enact a "campus stabilization bill" calling for ideological reorientation of campus troublemakers without formal arrest or trial.

The party described the bill as an effort to avoid stigmatizing students with formal arrest records. But critics assailed it as a pretext for establishing what they called concentration camps.

The bill also would have authorized seven-year sentences for adults guilty of instigating unauthorized student activity, a provision that was widely regarded as giving carte blanche for the arrest of opposition politicians.

In the end, Mr. Chun ordered the bill set aside. A forceful speech Aug. 15 by the U.S. ambassador, Richard Walker, was believed to have played a role in his decision.

Mr. Walker said: "Let no one doubt America's national faith and commitment to the values of freedom, government of, by and for the people, and a decent respect for human rights."

He added that "Americans insist that intellectual and religious freedom must be the foundation for legitimate rule."

THE PEOPLE'S KOREA Published every Saturday by the Choson Sinbo Company For subscription or further details, please write to the Editorial Department, 5, Tsukudo-Hachiman-cho, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 162 Japan Tel. 03-260-5881 Anybody is free to reproduce or quote any stories or articles in The People's Korea.